

# The Chemistry of Wine and Poetry: Drinking Games in *The Story of The Stone*

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*The Story of The Stone*, focusing on the aristocratic Jia family, provides a great variety of drinking games inside and outside the household.

*The Story of The Stone*, besides its literary achievement, leaves an authentic and encyclopedic record of aristocratic culture in the Qing Dynasty in its minute real-life portrayal of contemporary upper-class life. Of course, detailed depiction of cultured life is intended to create the setting in which the characters exist, but equally the depiction is used as a crafted literary device to highlight each character's individuality, while incidents and interactions during cultural activities propel the plot.

Among such cultured activities are wine drinking and drinking games. Thanks to the long history of wine/liquor drinking in the country's cultural life and its accumulated significance, scenes of wine/liquor drinking and drinking games contain great potential dramatic tension, while adding a rich literary texture because of their involvement with poetry. Some of the scenes are the most poetic moments in the narrative, others present contagiously hilarious parties. Either way, these scenes provide ways to reach into the depth of the characters and reveal the characters' natural selves by removing them from their constraining societal roles, conveniently with the help of wine. Furthermore, some of these scenes play an important role in the intrinsic structure of the narrative, as poems recited in the drinking games usually indicate the characters' taste and cultivation, and some of them also give hints of the characters' future in the narrative.

The narrative is said to have been amended over decades by the author, and this gives it a meticulously built structure with carefully selected episodes. This paper aims to show that, thanks to the rich legacy of drinking games, wine drinking and drinking game scenes are among the adroitly employed literary devices that embroider the characters with the finest touch, while simultaneously reinforcing the narrative structure with hidden metaphors and suggestions.

## Drinking Games: the chemistry of wine and poetry

Wine drinking (yellow rice wine on most occasions) played an active role in both formal rituals and domestic entertainment in the Qing Dynasty. The same as most cultured activities, wine drinking demands correct etiquette as it functions as a token of the class hierarchy on formal occasions, and requires knowledge and cultivation when practiced as an entertainment among the leisured and cultured class, because it is often accompanied by poem making and reciting in the form of drinking

games.

Early drinking games date back to the Zhou Dynasty when pitch-pot games were played at banquets.<sup>1)</sup> Drinking games grew in popularity and variety over the following hundreds of years, and by the Qing Dynasty there were a great variety of drinking games from high-brow literary recreation to easy-to-play puzzles and games, to match the needs of different social classes and groups. *The Story of The Stone* stages a good number of drinking games at formal or intimate gathering of both sexes. While serving the function of livening up the parties, drinking games are also a good place to observe the characters in their unguarded moments.

There are roughly three types of drinking game scenes in the narrative: the cultured and entertaining activity involving poetry reciting for the educated class, the easy-to-play games as stimulating spice for fun for the mixed domestic groups that include illiterate servants, and men's gatherings outside the household.

### **The Tipsy Beauty of Xiang-yun**

Xiang-yun is an equally beloved character as the two heroines of Dai-yu and Bao-chai. Though losing her parents when she was still in the cradle and having to live with her strict uncle, she is open-hearted, generous and truly easy-going in spite of her aristocratic background. She is also the most "naughty" among the girls, so is often Bao-yu's playmate in mischief. She is less proud and sensitive than Dai-yu and more spontaneous than Bao-chai, so it is not surprising that she becomes the center of the drinking game scenes at the gathering in chapter 62, when young people in Jia household have a party celebrating Bao-yu's birthday. Similar to the well-remembered episodes in chapter 27, "Beauty Perspiring sports with butterflies by the Raindrop Pavilion and Beauty Suspiring weeps for fallen blossoms by the Flowers's Grave,"<sup>2)</sup> that give the finest touch in the portrait of the two heroines, chapter 62 focuses on Xiang-yun, letting the episodes demonstrate her personality.

After finding she had drunk too much wine in the drinking games, she steals out to have a nap in the garden, but is soon found:

They found Xiang-yun where the maid had said, on a large stone bench in a hidden corner of the rockery, dead to the world. She was covered all over from head to foot with crimson petals from the peony bushes which grew round about; the fan which had slipped from her hand and lay on the ground beside her was half buried in petals; and heaped up peony petals wrapped in a white silk handkerchief made an improvised pillow for her head. Over and around this petalled monstrosity a convocation of bees and butterflies was hovering distractedly.<sup>3)</sup>

For those who are familiar with Chinese painting, this scene is evocative of some traditional paintings of beauty and flowers. A half drunken beauty having a nap on a bench, half buried in peony petals and surround by bees and butterflies, the improvised pillow of peony petals wrapped in a white silk handkerchief is even more lovely, indicative of her childlike playfulness and optimistic personality. This aesthetic scene catching the girl in her natural state seems to explain why she is widely

loved inside and outside the narrative:

It was a sight that the cousins found both touching and comical. They made haste to rouse her and lifted her up into a half-sitting position on the bench. But Xiang-yun was still playing drinking games in her sleep and proceeded to recite the words of an imaginary forfeit, though her eyes were tightly closed. 'One. "The spring water being sweet, the wine is good." Two. "Pour me its liquid amber in a jade cup." Three. We'll drink till we see "The moon above the plum-tree bough". Four. Then, as we're "Rolling Home". Five. It will be "A good time to meet a friend."' <sup>4)</sup>

A quick wit and well-read in poetry, Xiang-yun is still capable of playing a drinking game in her dream. Her forfeit sounds perfectly in accordance with the requirements: rhymed, correctly quoted and arranged into a coherent order. Her elegant forfeit transforms this slightly comic scene into a poetic one, which is to be used by her cousins to tease her later at the night party when they play another drinking game of choosing flowers.

At that later party, Xiang-yun draws the flower of crab-apple blossom, with the caption 'Sweet Drunken Dreamer' and a line by Su Dong-po that reads: "Fear that the flowers at dead of night should sleep."<sup>5)</sup> Upon this, Dai-yu quickly comments "For 'at dead of night' read 'on a stone bench,'"<sup>6)</sup> to raise understanding laughter from her other cousins, who know it refers to Xiang-yun's nap earlier in the day. Xiang-yun immediately strikes back by pointing to a self-propelling toy boat on Bao-yu's shelf and asking Dai-yu to 'get on that boat and go home...' <sup>7)</sup> Xiang-yun's words raise more laughter, because the boat is the one Bao-yu mistook as a real boat sent from Suzhou to fetch Dai-yu home in his delirium triggered by fear of losing Dai-yu in chapter 57.

Hidden in these humorous exchanges between the cousins, there is another layer in this drinking game of flower choosing. It happens that all the girls pick a flower that matches their personality, with a line of poem that is used to indicate their destinies in the narrative. The poem accompanying Xiang-yun's flower is believed to be inspired by the episode of the famous beauty of the Imperial Concubine of Yan. According to Hui Hong in the Song Dynasty, in *The Tale of Yang Tai-zhen*,<sup>8)</sup> when the emperor of Tang Xuan Zong summoned the imperial concubine of Yang one morning, she was still tipsy from a drinking party the night before. Appreciating her lazy manner and crimson cheeks that give her a different charm, the emperor compared Yang to a sleeping beauty of crab-apple blossom which has a physical likeness to delicate and caressing feminine sexuality. The phrase later becomes a metaphor for erotic feminine beauty, but the poem quoted also carries an omen here because of its connection with Yang who died young and tragically in a coup d'état, so when used on Xiang-yun the line foreshadows her short-lived marital happiness.

### **The Old-fashioned Elegant Game of Cover-ups Versus the Easy-to-play Guess-fingers at Bao-yu's Birthday Party**

On the day of Bao-yu's birthday it is found that it is also the birthday of three

young girls, so the cousins decide to have a private birthday party in the evening at Bao-yu's place. The mixed group of masters and maids decide to play two games: the high-brow and old fashioned 'cover-up' and the easy 'guess-fingers'. Xiang-yun protests against the 'stuffy' game of 'cover-up' which requires knowledge of the Chinese classics, but soon shows her competency in helping the half-educated Caltrop, a concubine to Bao-chai's brother, by whispering the answer to her. Xiang-yun is caught by Dai-yu when doing so and receives a second forfeit of wine following her protest against the game of 'cover-ups'. Pretending to be angry with Dai-yu, she naughtily "rap[s] Dai-yu on the knuckles with a chopstick,"<sup>9)</sup> a small girlish detail that shows their childlike closeness and fondness for each other.

While the other pairs are playing the 'cover-ups', Xiang-yun, unwilling to wait longer, is already in the midst of a game of guess-fingers with Bao-yu. "The two of them were both shouting at the tops of their voices."<sup>10)</sup> Unsatisfied with the simplicity of the game, Xiang-yun asks to make the game more challenging: the loser of the guess-finger games, as a forfeit, is to recite from five different sources and link them together to make continuous sense before drinking a cup of wine, and after drinking the wine he or she must finish the forfeit with the name of some food on the table that can be used in more than one sense. This complicated and demanding game tests participants' knowledge as well as quick wit, but similar games seemed to be a favorite of the Qing intelligentsia as many such games were documented in personal memoirs of literary celebrities.<sup>11)</sup> When Bao-yu loses the game and asks for some time to think about the sentences, Dai-yu steps in to say for him:

'One. "Scudding clouds race the startled mallard across the water", said Dai-yu. 'Two. "A wild goose passes, lamenting, across the wind-swept sky." Three. It must be "The wild goose with a broken Wing". Four. So sad a sound makes "The Heart Tormented". Five. "The cry of the wild goose is heard In the land."

...

Dai-yu picked up a hazel-nut.

'This cob I take up from the table

Came from a tree, not from a stable.'<sup>12)</sup>

Dai-yu's choice of quotes (from Wang Bo, Lu You, the Classic of Li, and Li Bai, respectively) is in line with her own poems that always express a subtly crafted sense of loss and melancholy. The cousins applaud Dai-yu's ease with poetry and quick wit, a quality well recognized at their poem-making games. After a while Xiang-yun also loses a guess finger game and needs to do the forfeit of her own design, to which she answers without delay:

'One. "A swift-rushing swirl and shock". Two. "The Sky rocks And heavens in the river's swelling waters". Three. Better have "The lone boat tied with an iron chain". Four. And since there is "Storm on the River". Five. "This will be a bad day for travelling."

.....

From the dish in front of her Xiang-yun picked out a duck's head  
With her chopsticks and pointed it at the maids ...  
'This little duck can't with those little ducks compare:  
This one is quite bald, but they all have a fine head of hair.'<sup>13)</sup>

Xiang-yun's eloquence is different from the delicacy and sentiment of Dai-yu, but excels in "masculine" generosity and scale, and a different sense of humor. Her intuitive and playful choice of the poem reveals her daring and carefree personality but it also uncannily describes her life and foreshadows her rocky adult life. For the present, she ends the game with a pun that teases the maids with the word "duck head" which is pronounced the same as the word "maid" in Chinese. Younger than her other cousins at the party, being playful and daring seems to be her privilege, and her friendship with the maids nurtured from her young childhood also makes the joke harmless. As expected in the following laughter, the "offended" maids duly ask for punishment for her.

Presenting a group of happy and close cousins, headed by Xiang-yun, all playing games with their maids, these parties create an Eden-like innocent and peaceful atmosphere in the narrative. Such peace and innocence will be destroyed gradually in the second half of the novel, leading to the general tragedy of the narrative.

### **Girls' Foreshadowed Future in "Choosing the Flower" Game**

Following the daytime party, Bao-yu and his maids decide to have an even more private night party for his close cousins and maids at his place. In consideration of the mixed group, they choose a drinking game of choosing the flower, a quieter and easy-to-play game that involves no poetry reciting.

The participants only need to draw from a cylindrical bamboo box that contains a set of ivory drinking-cards, each with a flower painted on it, a caption and a line from a poem carrying the name of the flower and a drinking requirement. Using this entertaining game, the author takes the chance to describe the young girls with the metaphor of flowers: their beauty and personality, with the lines of poems giving hints to their future.

Bao-chai is the first to draw. She draws the peony card with a line from a poem by the Tang poet Luo Yin:

Yourself lack passion, yet can others move.<sup>14)</sup>

Peony is the flower of rich beauty and prosperity in Chinese culture, likewise Bao-chai is considered the model beauty in the Jia household—except by Bao-yu, who appreciates Dai-yu better. Bao-chai's gentle, obedient and considerate manners as well as her physical beauty earn her more approval than Dai-yu from both the elderly and the servants. Yet her lack of passion, a virtue in the eye of older generations and a norm of the prevailing feudalism for women, is nevertheless a great fault in the eye of Bao-yu, who admires her physical beauty and high intelligence but is repulsed by her determined denial of human desires and lack of spontaneity.

Getting back to the narrative, Bao-chai's card requires all participants to drink a

cup and entitles the drawer to ask one participant to recite a poem or sing a song. After that Tan-chun is the next to draw. On the card she draws is a spray of almond blossom, with a line of verse by Gao Chan: "Apricot-trees make the sun's red-petalled floor."<sup>15)</sup> The line describes a traditional symbol of honor and promising future, and for an aristocratic girl in the Qing era it can only mean a good marriage into a prestigious or even the imperial family, like her elder half-sister who became an imperial concubine. The following line indicates that she will marry into a foreign royal family, which if true will cut her from her family, as a married daughter in a foreign country can hardly expect any chances to visit her family.

The game continues, and the windowed Li Wan draws a winter-flowering plum, which matches her widowhood and determination to maintain her chastity. Then it is Xiang-yun's turn to draw, and she draws a crab-apple blossom as discussed earlier. Then Musk draws a card of rose with an ominous line that Bao-yu finds himself obliged to hide from the others. Caltrop, draws a purple skullcap with a line that seems to prophesy a happy marriage but eventually proves a false blessing.

Dai-yu draws a hibiscus, a southern flower of innocent beauty, with the caption of 'Mourner of the Autumn Mere' and a line by Ou-yang Xiu: "Your own self, not the East Wind, is your undoing."<sup>16)</sup> It reads like a eulogy as well as a warning against Dai-yu. Melancholy is considered a special gift of poets, combined with the loss of her immediate family at a young age, Dai-yu is an extremely sensitive girl. Her sentimentality and sensitivity are highlighted in the episode of her burying the fallen flower petals in the garden to keep them from being polluted by the outer world, but her brooding mind is greatly harmful to her already delicate health.

After Dai-yu, Aroma draws a peach-blossom card which asks Almond to drink a cup with the drawer. Dai-yu again catches a chance to make fun of Tan-chun: "As both Almond and someone who is destined to marry royalty, you had better begin."<sup>17)</sup> The embarrassed Tan-chun asks Li Wan to give Dai-yu a "back-hander." Unexpectedly (perhaps disinhibited by the wine) the usually serious Li stands up to Dai-yu by saying, "she's not getting a royal husband and now she is to be beaten as well!"<sup>18)</sup> Her timely burst of witty comments raises laughter.

The evening party comes to an end when Aunt Xue's maid comes to collect Dai-yu. After the guests take their leave, Bao-yu and his maids are all a little drunk, so they start playing the easy game of guess-fingers and singing solos until finishing the wine they prepared for the occasion. Bao-yu and the maids lie around with their clothes on and sleep. The next morning, the singer and actress Parfumeem embarrassingly finds she slept beside Bao-yu, an act which is strictly forbidden and could be scandalous if exposed, but it only gives Bao-yu regret for not having rubbed some ink on her face. The happy night party, which Aroma claims "[e]ven the high jinks Her Old Ladyship gets up with the young ladies and Master Bao are nothing compared,"<sup>19)</sup> exemplify the heyday of The Perspective Garden, the Eden-like residence for the young cousins. The freedom there nurtures innocent closeness between the cousins, but the innocence will be stained later by rumors, and eventually destroyed by suspicious and corrupted adults in the second half of the narrative.

## A Country Woman's Drinking Game Meets Mirthful Laughter

In contrast to the young people's elegant or mirthful drinking games, there is a comic drinking party with Grannie Liu. Grannie Liu is a practical and worldly wise old peasant woman, who comes to the Jia for monetary help. Young people in Jia find Grannie Liu and her country talk extremely amusing, while the old woman knowingly entertains them with country anecdotes and her own exaggerated reaction to the luxury of the Jia household. The climax comes in her cooperation with Xi-feng and the maids to amuse Grandma Jia at the old lady's birthday party in chapter 40.

Before the party, Xi-feng plots with Faithful, the head maid of the matriarch, and makes Grannie Liu give a short speech at the beginning of the banquet:

'My name it is Liu,  
I'm a trencherman true;  
I can eat a whole sow  
With her little pig too.'<sup>20)</sup>

This unthinkable speech is so unexpected and totally different from any entertainments they have previously enjoyed that Grandma Jia and others present give roars of laughter after hearing it. Xi-feng continues the mischief by giving Grannie Liu a pair of heavy silver chopsticks and dishes that she is obviously not used to, to draw more comical reactions out of the old woman. Grannie Liu successfully cheers up the whole party. Yet the fun escalates with the coming of drinking games. The experienced Faithful serves as Master of Ceremonies and announce the rules:

The rules of drinking are as strict as the rules of war. Now that you've made me your M.C., any of you who doesn't do exactly as I say, no matter who it is, has to pay a forfeit.<sup>21)</sup>

Afraid that she is not competent for such a game, Grannie Liu tries to slip out but is duly stopped. Faithful continues to explain the rules:

"What I'm going to do, ... is to call threesomes with the dominoes, starting from Her Old Ladyship, going round in an anti-clockwise direction, and ending up with Mrs Liu. First I shall make a separate call for each of the three dominoes and after that I shall make a call for the whole threesome, so you'll get four calls each. Every time I call, you've got to answer with something that rhymes and that has some connection with the call. It can be something from a poem or song or ballad, or it can be a proverb or some well-known expression -anything you like as long as there is a connection and it rhymes."<sup>22)</sup>

As the party includes elderly women, Faithful chooses a comparatively easy game. Grannie Liu's turn comes the last so she can have some time to get used to it and wait for other participants' expectation for more fun to rise. Grannie Liu's game begins.



Faithful began to lay.  
 'A pair of fours on the left, the Man.'  
 Grannie Liu was a good long while puzzling over this. Finally  
 She said.  
 'Is it a farmer?'  
 The other roared with laughter.  
 'That's all right,' said Grandmother Jia reassuringly. 'That answer  
 will do very well.'  
 'You young people shouldn't laugh at me,' said Grannie Liu to the  
 others. 'I'm a countrywoman born and I can't help my country talk.'  
 'Green three, red four, contrasting colours,' called Faithful.  
 'The fire burns up the caterpillars,' said Grannie Liu.  
 ...  
 'Red Four on the right and the ace is red,' said Faithful.  
 'A turnip and a garlic-head.'  
 More laughter.  
 "'The Flower" those three together show,' said Faithful.  
 'This flower will to a pumpkin grow,' said the flower-bedecked  
 ancient, gesturing with her hands to demonstrate the size of  
 the imagined pumpkin.  
 A shout of laughter rose from all those present.<sup>23)</sup>

The success of this staged comedy derives from the contrast of elegant world of the Jia household and Grannie Liu's worldly wisdom. Grannie Liu, coming from a very different social station from the others, brings a piece of her country life to the party in her game. The farm plants, animals, and agricultural proverbs, so commonplace in her life, are probably the remotest possible experiences from the life of the aristocratic Jia. The gap doubles the fun. Seemingly a cruel fooling of a country woman, it actually shows Grannie Liu as an experienced and practical woman, whose efforts earn her real and long lasting friendship from the Jia household including Xi-feng. Xi-feng and Faithful apologize to her for their mischief immediately after the party, and help her with clothes, food and money. Xi-feng, a complicated figure in the narrative, shows true charity towards the old woman, a virtue that benefits her daughter when the aristocratic Jia family collapses.

Meanwhile Grannie Liu, the unexpected intruder into the aristocratic Jia, opens a new territory of country life in the narrative. Her slightly cunning personality and sometimes vulgar country talk compensate for the somehow unworldly aesthetic and monotonous life of the young Jia girls and boys, and her drinking games also give the narrative a boost.

### **Bao-yu and Xue Pan's drinking game**

Drinking games are common at men's gatherings, and as they usually are without the presence of respectable women, can be vulgar. When meeting his friends outside the Jia household, Bao-yu proposes a drinking game to keep the participants from drinking too much and too fast. He drinks the M.C.'s starting-cup and an-



nounces rules: each participant must give four rhymed sentences each starting with "The girl is ...." After the four sentences, the player sings a new popular song, drinks a cup of wine and then finishes the game by reciting a line from a well-known poem, or an old couplet or a quotation from the classics that contains some animal or vegetable on the table.

Bao-yu is the first to play the game. Though often losing to his talented female cousins at home when making poems, he is the best here. His game shows his expertise in poetry, and his real appreciation of talented women and sympathy for their depressed life, which is rare for a man living in the Qing era. The second line in his game also reveals his distaste for the pursuit of fame or career.

'The girl's upset:

The years pass by, but no one's claimed her yet.

The girl looks glum:

Her true-love's gone to follow ambition's drum.

The girl feels blest:

The mirror shows her looks are at their best.

The girl's content:

Long summer days in pleasant pastimes spent.

... ..

'Rain whips the pear-tree, shut fast the door.'<sup>24)</sup>

Bao-yu's game is applauded by all present except Xue Pan, Bao-chai's spoiled brother, who claims that he understands neither the poem nor the classics in Bao-yu's game. Exactly the opposite of his accomplished younger sister, Xue is a coarse and unruly bully. His 'Hum-bum Song' when his turn comes expresses what he is:

"One little gnat went hum hum hum,"

"Two little flies went bum bum bum, ..." <sup>25)</sup>

He is quickly dismissed and drinks his forfeit, but here he meets the person who will beat him up when he solicits sexual favors. Jiang Yu-han is an accomplished female impersonator and widely admired for his talent as a performer, which explains his rage when considered as an object of sexual lust. Jiang is the next to play the game. Being an actor himself, his game is persuasively dramatic and entertaining, played as a young girl yearning for marital happiness.

'The girl's upset:

Her man's away, she fears he will forget.

The girl looks glum:

So short of cash she can't afford a crumb.

The girl feels blest:

Her lampwick's got a lucky crest.

The girl's content:

She's married to a perfect gent.

... ..

'The flowers' aroma breathes of hotter day.'<sup>26)</sup>

With his limited knowledge of poetry and classics, Jiang happens to remember a couplet he saw recently and coincidentally it is the same line from which Bao-yu got the name for his head maid, Aroma. Aroma is the maid in charge in Bao-yu's apartment and a future concubine to Bao-yu. Qing norms dictate that women from respectable families should not have their names known to the outside world, so it is improper for a man to mention her name (though Jiang unknowingly did) before strangers. Xue, the good for nothing playboy, is however very good at knowing girls, especially pretty ones. He duly points out Jiang's mistake, thus incidentally brings her to the notice of Jiang. Later when Bao-yu and Jiang exchange gifts to show their mutual appreciation, the precious and exotic cummerbund that Jiang gives Bao-yu will soon be around Aroma's waist, and it serves as a metaphor of marital union between the girl and Jiang. This casual drinking game with an incidental coincidence produces a link between people otherwise unlikely to meet.

Drinking games are a special occasion in Chinese culture, and frequently combine intoxicating drinks and the creative involvement of poetry. The combination is effectively used in the narrative to set off the main characters, their aristocratic background and literary cultivation, and to highlight the gap between them and other social groups. Furthermore, because of the intoxicating nature of wine, drinking games also provide a chance to see the real self of the characters, especially in the case of Xiang-yun, the drinking game discussed easily brings Xiang-yun to life and it becomes a symbol of her. Meanwhile thanks to the variety of the drinking games and their capacity to include and link different social groups, scenes of these games greatly enlarge the scale of the narrative and are the catalyst for some of the most dramatic moments. Drinking games, the chemistry of poetry and wine adroitly employed by Cao, add both depth and width to the narrative.

#### Notes

- 1) Wang Renxiang (王仁湘) concludes in *ZhongGuo YinShi WenHua* (《中国饮食文化》, Tokyo: Seido-sha, 2001, 291) that drinking games derived from pitch-pot games in the Zhou Dynasty and quotes records of pitch-pot games played at banquets in *ChunQiu ZuoShi Zhuan* (《春秋左氏传》).
- 2) Cao Xueqin, *The Story of The Stone*, trans. David Hawkes, (London: Penguin Classics, 1973-1986), vol. 2, 23.
- 3) Cao, vol. 3, 204.
- 4) Ibid., 204.
- 5) Ibid., 227.
- 6) Ibid., 227.
- 7) Ibid., 227.
- 8) Hui Hong (惠洪) commented in *LengZhai YeHua*, (Kyoto: Zengaku Dennseki, Rinsen Book Co, 2000, 765) that Su's poem was inspired by the episode, which was originally from *YangTaiZhen WaiZhuan* (《杨太真外传》).
- 9) Cao, vol. 3, 198.
- 10) Ibid, 198.
- 11) For example, Wang Renxiang quoted some of the crafted drinking games by intelligentsia officers

in the Qing Dynasty using puns in the section of Drinking Games in *ZhongGuo YinShi WenHua*, 296.

- 12) Cao, vol. 3, 199.
- 13) Ibid, 200.
- 14) Ibid, 224.
- 15) Ibid, 226.
- 16) Ibid, 228.
- 17) Ibid, 229.
- 18) Ibid, 229.
- 19) Ibid, 232.
- 20) Cao, vol. 2, 288.
- 21) Ibid, 299.
- 22) Ibid, 300.
- 23) Ibid, 303.
- 24) Ibid, 55–56.
- 25) Ibid, 59.
- 26) Ibid, 59–60.